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Venture

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Incorporating Empire

COMMERCIAL YARDSTICK

THE tidying up of Colonial Development Corporation projects proceeds. In 1952¹ eight schemes were abandoned, one in the Bahamas, three in British Honduras, one in Dominica, one in the Falklands, one in the Seychelles, and one (the Rice Farm) in the Gambia. Of the 57 schemes now in operation, some are facing heavy weather, but some are 'well chosen, efficiently managed, already or potentially profitable subject always to risks of drought, flood, pest and civil disturbance.' The most disquieting feature of the Report emerges from an examination of the distribution of successful schemes. Malaya does well, the Tanganyika coal is proved but awaits a Government decision to build a railway, British Guiana obtains 'satisfactory' results with goldfields. But British Honduras, Dominica, the Gambia, Nigeria and Kenya have had distressing failures. The Report indeed emphasises that new developments are nearly everywhere risky and costly, and that insistence on a commercial yardstick will rule out many types of development which the Corporation was specifically created to undertake, particularly agricultural settlement schemes. The Corporation's request that it should be able to finance valuable projects which are unlikely to be profitable is therefore a reasonable one. Nothing is more essential than an improved standard of agriculture, particularly in Africa. There are no signs that private enterprise alone either can or will achieve it. The Corporation has had help from associates, but records that they 'have not in general been willing to take more than a token financial participation'; colonial governments, on the other hand, have in general been 'helpful.' But colonial governments cannot do enough by

themselves. Expectations of quick results have been finally killed, but the case for the existence of the Corporation remains valid.

INVINCIBLE OBSTINACY

THE Conservative majority in the House of Commons remains unshaken on the Central African issue. Labour Members have moved detailed amendments to the Enabling Bill in a last attempt to have safeguards written into the Bill, but all are rejected. The effort is not wasted, however, for some points—such as the majority consent of the whole population which will be required if amalgamation is demanded—have been clarified. But the Secretary of State has missed opportunities to give assurances—or at least express hopes—that some of the suggestions will be adopted in practice, even though they may not be formally embodied in the Bill. We do not believe that any amendments will now make federation acceptable to the African opposition, but it would allay some anxieties if we could know that there will, for example, be African representation in the federal Cabinet or that there will be practical steps to increase it in the federal legislature. Nor does Mr. Lyttelton make any attempt to give definition to that vague word 'partnership' in terms of immediate action. In Northern Rhodesia Africans are making their definition clear by entering colour-bar hotels, ignoring partitions in Post Offices and insisting on being served over the counter in shops where they have previously been relegated to windows. These actions are reported to be giving offence—we have no doubt that they are—but a practical demonstration that 'partnership' involves treating Africans as human beings is now more necessary than ever. Meanwhile, the Nyasaland Government has deported Michael Scott and has driven some of chiefs into non-cooperation. In Kenya, the Kenya African Union

¹ Colonial Development Corporation Report and Accounts for 1952, H.M. Stationery Office, 3s. 6d.

has at last been suppressed. If it is so closely linked with Mau Mau that it is now impossible to disentangle it, it should be suppressed. But how does Mr. Lyttelton expect such an assertion to be accepted at its face value when such arbitrary conduct continues elsewhere? The federation issue is poisoning the whole continent, and plays no in considerable part in the current crisis in Nigeria. Will nothing cure the Secretary of State's invincible obstinacy?

QUEEN AND COMMONWEALTH

THE Coronation guests have gone home. For the Bureau, their visits meant the renewal of old friendships, the pleasure of meeting members whom we have not seen before, and a humbling realisation of the vast scope of the work which ought to be done compared with what we actually do. For the British people, it meant greater knowledge and understanding of the rest of the Commonwealth. We hope that general interest may be maintained now the ceremonies are over. The opportunity is there: the Imperial Institute, for long the subject of rather weary discussion, is celebrating with a *Queen and Commonwealth Exhibition* which is open till October 31 and well worth a visit. The Colonial Office's *Focus on Colonial Progress* exhibition is included, with its life-size Gold Coast cocoa farmers, miners of Northern Rhodesia and Dyaks of Sarawak still creating in the visitor a sense of embarrassment or enthusiasm, probably according to age. The Treasury displays *Britain and the Colombo Plan* and there is a new exhibition, *The World Encompassed*, sponsored by the National Maritime Museum. Entertainments, generally at 4.45 p.m., include Indian and West Indian dancing, Gold Coast traditional music and Australian aboriginal dances. There is also an exhibition of the work of *Young Artists from the Commonwealth*, whose oil paintings, water colours and sculpture are of interest to all who follow the content and techniques of many lonely artists. Didactic in a different sense are the exhibition sponsored by the Conference of British Missionary Societies and the Pontifical Mission Aid Societies, *Go Ye and Teach All Nations*, and the Hansard Society's *Parliament—Past and Present*. The latter in particular should claim the attention of colonial students and visitors to Britain. Perhaps if they listened to the Coronation service, with its references to Hebrew prophets and the religious beliefs brought to this country by overseas missionaries, they will have understood—what we often forget ourselves—how much of the British tradition has been absorbed from the outside world. *Parliament—Past and Present* records the building up of a tradition of Parliamentary democracy, handed on to the in-

dependent countries of the Commonwealth and to the Colonies. It was a long, slow development, from de Montfort's Parliament to the suffragettes, and the story is told here with representations of Charles I's demand for the surrender of the five Members of the House of Commons, of the Speaker and the Clerk, of the various stages of a public and private bills. There are pages of *Hansard* recording Members' questions to Ministers and letters of constituents to their Members. These exhibitions reveal the struggles as well as the victories, and taken together, present a picture of variety contrasted with stability which is instructive for all of us.

BREAKING UP NIGERIA

ON June 17 the Secretary of State announced that invitations to the proposed conference in London to discuss the Nigerian constitution had been accepted by the National Independence Party and the Northern Peoples Congress, and that although Mr. Awolowo and Dr. Azikiwe had at first declined, the Governor hoped that they might be persuaded to attend. They have now been persuaded, but on what terms we do not know at the time of writing. We hope that they have agreed to the inclusion of spokesmen of the National Independence Party, although this Party also had decided not to attend, presumably because their position had become politically untenable. The Eastern Region House of Assembly has been dissolved and elections are to be held. Two of the Eastern Ministers at the centre have taken over portfolios left vacant by Western Ministers who resigned, and the Party has made it clear that they can continue in office only if the central House of Representatives is dissolved and elections held. Mr. Awolowo, on the other hand, has declared (*Daily Service*, 21.5.53), 'if general elections are declared the Action Group would, in collaboration with other nationalists, declare the independence of Nigeria and proceed to assert it.' How this could be done now is not clear. The Northern House of Assembly has asked for the abolition of the central Government. The Eastern parties are at loggerheads, the Cameroons members have asked for a Cameroons regional legislature separate from the Eastern House of Assembly, and in the heat of discussion there has even been talk of a fifth Region—the 'Middle Belt' constituted by the 'pagan' areas of the Northern Region. We hope a sincere attempt will now be made to reach agreement without trampling on the wishes and interests of minorities. It would be much better not to hold a conference at all if the leaders will not seek agreement amongst themselves before

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NATIONALISATION IN THE CAMEROONS—IV¹

by Molly Mortimer and Marjorie Nicholson

IN preceding articles the conclusions have been drawn that the Cameroons Development Corporation has become, within the context of Cameroons conditions, an efficient commercial enterprise maintaining satisfactory labour relations, and that its profits, which in the days of private enterprise were drained out of the country, have been retained for the benefit of the people. The further question of public accountability remains to be considered.

One of the purposes of nationalisation is to secure public control of important economic resources. This may be partially effected through taxation, control of investment and prices, allocation of supplies, and other methods. In Britain, it has been held that these methods are insufficient for basic industries and services, which are the most important factors in economic planning, and therefore should be nationalised. This argument is obviously even more powerful in the case of the Cameroons plantations, since alternative means of control are beyond the capacity of the administration in its present state of development, while the plantations are not merely a basic industry, but the *only* industry, without which the territory would have no economic life above the level of primitive agriculture. But it is one thing to establish control; it is quite another to establish accountability to the general public.

This has proved difficult enough in Britain, where Labour Ministers after 1945 learnt to execute a tight-rope walk between the evils of allowing Members of Parliament to pester them with requests for detailed information on the day-to-day work of the new corporations and that of allowing the boards of management to become laws unto themselves. It was agreed that the Minister should be held responsible to Parliament for general direction only, but it is fair to say that Members have not found it easy to confine themselves within these limits or to determine the exact responsibility of the individual Ministers.² The safeguard lies rather in the responsibility of the Government as a whole for its conduct of national economic affairs. In the case of the Cameroons Development Corporation, the position is more confused, since the Governor takes the responsibility which in Britain is allocated to a single Minister, while in the central Government the Minister for the Cameroons sits without portfolio,

and is in any case concerned with the territory as a whole, not merely with its economic problems, some of which (such as labour, transport, commerce) fall within the competence of his colleagues. Moreover, he is himself a member of the Corporation's Board. The Minister for Commerce and Industry theoretically has responsibility for the Corporation, and has answered a few questions on it in the central House,³ but the scope of his responsibility has never been defined.

Even if the personal responsibility were more clearly allocated, it seems unlikely that parliamentary criticism or advice could at the present time be made effective. There is little public knowledge of the issues involved, and the legislative structure is complicated. The Southern Cameroons are administered together with the Eastern Provinces of Nigeria, from headquarters in Enugu. Its representatives sit in the Eastern House of Assembly at Enugu and in the House of Representatives at Lagos. Both of these places are remote and communications are scanty. Yet it is to the Nigerian Government that the Corporation must submit its accounts and reports, which are then circulated for information to the Members of the central House of Representatives. But the Report has never been discussed in either central or regional House. Nor has the art of the Parliamentary question been fully learnt. The most effective public discussions of the Corporation's affairs at present take place in the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, which annually receives a report on the territory from the administering power, and which has so far sent two Visiting Missions to the Cameroons, both of which have heard favourable and unfavourable comments from the inhabitants.

This situation might be remedied by the creation of a regional legislature in the Cameroons, with a regional Council of Ministers. Some of the elected

¹ This article concludes the Series. Previous articles appeared in March, April and June, 1953.

² On questions tabled by Members of Parliament, the Acton Society Trust has commented (*Nationalised Industry: Accountability to Parliament*, 1950, page 7): '... many questions, including both those answered (or evaded) and those refused, reflect a preoccupation ... with local problems of management, as opposed to overall efficiency. ... The problem of the balance of nationalised industries in the economy as a whole and the amount of their share of the nation's capital resources has received scarcely any consideration. Nor have Members questioned the decisions on these issues (which are made by the Government as a whole, rather than by the Minister).'

representatives of the Cameroons have asked for this, because they feel that the people of the Eastern Region of Nigeria have an outlook very different from their own. Loyalties are at present effective over a small area, and this is most marked in the Cameroons. There has, for example, been some resentment at the importation of Nigerian labour and at the sharing of the 'general benefit' funds with areas in which there are no plantations. A regional legislature and Government would be closer to the people and have now been formally demanded as a result of the crisis in the Eastern Region.

It is hardly surprising in the circumstances that 'the people feel excluded from both knowledge of the Corporation's affairs and participation in them. . . : there was even an impression that the Corporation was undistinguishable from any of the previous or existing private plantation companies.'¹ This is not the fault of the Corporation. It should be noted that when there was a local organisation—the trade union—with which it could deal, it did not hesitate to do so. But as political consciousness rises in the Cameroons, the present situation can become a dangerous one. An organisation so important to the territory cannot hope to remain immune from irresponsible political attack, while constructive criticism is less likely to be made as long as the correct procedure for putting public complaints is through the Governor of Nigeria, for reference to the Corporation. The Corporation helps itself to some degree by issuing a news-sheet, but otherwise it appears to do very little to publicise its programme and to stimulate informed discussion of its problems. The Cameroons has no newspaper of its own, and Cameroons news in the Nigerian press is negligible. There is seldom any reference to the Corporation unless there is a strike, and even United Nations Visiting Missions arrive, tour and depart almost unsung. The only exception is the *Eastern Outlook and Cameroons Star*, published by the Eastern Region Public Relations Department, which has a Cameroonian on its staff. For the first time news items and photographs from the Cameroons are appearing regularly in a newspaper, and in recent months one or two letters from readers commenting on the Corporation and its policy have appeared in its columns. This is an excellent, but slow, development. Yet it is to be hoped that the Corporation will resist the temptation to start a newspaper of its own. The cure would be worse than the disease if every activity in the Southern Cameroons were taken under the wing of what is in fact a business concern, publicly owned though it may be.

The Corporation would be less vulnerable if its Board of Directors were not predominantly European. At the beginning, the Secretary of State promised² that it would be nominated by the Governor, but would 'become progressively representative of the people of the territory.' This takes time. As at present constituted, there are three African and six

European members. The first Chairman, Mr. F. E. V. Smith, was previously a civil servant of long standing in Nigeria, and was seconded to the Corporation as Commissioner on Special Duty. He has been succeeded by the Nigeria Government's Director of Marketing and Exports, who will combine the two posts. One member resident in the West Indies, with long experience in agriculture, has travelled annually to the Cameroons to attend meetings and inspect the plantations. The African members have had no experience of large-scale business or plantation management. Chief Manga Williams is a Native Authority head; Mr. E. K. Martin is an English-trained teacher; the youngest, Dr. Endeley, was previously General President of the Cameroons Development Corporation Workers Union and is now Minister Without Portfolio in the Nigerian Council of Ministers. All are able and respected men, but at present they stand out in splendid isolation amongst their people. Below Board level, the same problem arises. In 1951 there were no Africans in the senior service of the Corporation. Now there are six. There were in 1951 33 in the intermediate and 736 in the junior services. As the Corporation is in any case suffering from lack of skilled European labour, it has every interest in promoting Africans, but, as was pointed out in an earlier article, is suffering in this as in its other difficulties from the low educational level prevailing in the Cameroons. The three Africans on the Board are therefore carrying a heavy burden, particularly as they already have more than their share of public work to do in other fields. They should be appointed for their business efficiency, but the people naturally look upon them as their 'representatives,' and they have obviously been appointed in that capacity. They have made some attempt to acquaint the people with the work of the Corporation, but it is clear that their position is anomalous. Some Cameroonianians want direct election of African representatives to the Board. This would cut across attempts to establish parliamentary accountability on the British model. It would confuse the whole issue. But the fact that this view can be held reveals that the position of the African members is already confused in the public mind.

Allocation from Profits

If the Corporation confined itself to growing bananas, the question of public accountability would be less important. But it is also a general benefactor, and it is in this rôle that it interests the public. So far, the Corporation has made four allocations from its annual profits³ for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Cameroons. At the beginning, there was uncertainty and delay in the expenditure of these contributions. To discuss the 1948 allocations, the administration arranged for representative meetings at Provincial and Divisional levels to which representatives of the Corporation were invited, but it was not until 1951 that the money was actually allocated

¹ United Nations Visiting Mission Report, 1950. T/461.

² House of Commons, 23.10.46.

³ 1948: £54,352. 1949: £22,544. 1950: £53,296. 1951: £55,559.

for expenditure, and in the middle of the same year the contributions for 1949 were still under consideration. In 1952, the organisation was much more satisfactory. A Cameroons Conference was held to discuss the Corporation's contribution from its profits for 1950. The delegates from the Northern Cameroons were one member from the Northern Region House of Chiefs, one from the Northern House of Assembly, two members of the central House of Representatives, and one District Head. The Southern Cameroons sent its 13 Members of the Eastern Region House of Assembly, including two Ministers. The Corporation's General Manager attended, and the conference, chaired by the Commissioner of the Cameroons, sent its recommendations to the Governor through the Lieutenant-Governors of the Northern and Eastern Regions, who added their comments. The members of the conference toured the estates, and the occasion provided a useful meeting ground for Southern and Northern Cameroonians.

It is vital that there should be widespread public discussion on this expenditure, and that care should be taken to avoid the development of an irresponsible attitude. It is said that in the discussions on the 1948 allocation, some people asked for expenditure on things of immediate benefit to them—such as wire fencing for their plots—which should normally be bought from ordinary savings or through co-operatives. The passion for scholarships has also been commented upon. In the end, £42,000 from 1948 were allocated to the Southern Cameroons and £12,352 to the Northern Cameroons. The latter allocation was devoted entirely to roads. In the Southern Cameroons, £5,000 went to reading rooms, £2,000 for secondary school scholarships, and £35,000 was allocated to projects suggested by District Development Committees, chiefly community halls, maternity hospitals, etc. The 1952 Conference discussed such points of principle as the relative claims of the Southern and Northern Cameroons and the desirability of giving every Division some benefit. It was unanimously decided that a third of the fund should be devoted to local development on a Divisional or population basis, and that the remainder should be applied to selected larger schemes with the intention that the North and the South should benefit equally.

This whole question has now become linked with that of the Cameroons Development Fund created in 1951 by the Nigerian Government to finance capital works, especially roads. This Fund originated in the decision that any surplus of revenue derived from the Cameroons Trust Territory should not go into the general revenue of Nigeria. One proposal submitted to the United Nations Visiting Mission in 1952² was that this Fund should also include the development funds of the Marketing Boards and the funds accruing from the Development Corporation, and that it should be administered by a statutory Cameroons Development Board composed of the Cameroonian members of the Legislatures, officials,

and representatives from such bodies as district committees, tribal unions, etc. The Mission called the attention of the Administering Authority to this proposal.

This is clearly a sensible attempt to establish public responsibility for this expenditure. It should be noted, however, that the need for it would not arise if the constitutional position were considered to be satisfactory, and if there were a different approach to the problem of raising revenue. There seems to be some danger that the peasant farmers will sit back while the financial burden of administration and of social and economic development is borne by the plantations. The payment of local rates and individual income taxes may not be possible for the whole population at present, but it should be recognised as a political aim. Its achievement would enable the Corporation to shed its responsibilities for social services and general development and come to confine itself to commercial activities. An efficient concern will in any case continue to pay enormous sums in taxation, and it should be recognised that some contribution is owed by every individual and company, rather than that the Corporation as such should be looked upon as a milch cow.

While it is clear, then, that much thought needs to be given to the future position of the Corporation, it must be remembered that the present structure—although not clearly accountable to the public—has ensured impartial and beneficial administration of the Corporation's affairs. The worst fate that could befall the Cameroons would be the sacrifice of these benefits for the sake of a less skilled but more apparently democratic method of control. This control ought to be established in the future, and educational steps should be taken towards that end now. It will require a considerable social and political effort from the people, but its attainment will complete the success of what is already a most useful attempt at nationalising the major resources of a dependent territory.

(Continued from page 2.)

coming to London. The present position is clearly intolerable for everyone concerned, but a breakdown in London might make it impossible for anyone to govern Nigeria—even Mr. Awolowo himself. The weaknesses in the present constitution, as we have often pointed out, are serious, but the greatest threat to Nigerian unity lies in the attitude of intolerance adopted by prominent politicians. This would break any constitution, however excellent the terms on paper. It might be profitable for Nigerians to observe the contrast presented by the different method of approach adopted by Mr. Nkrumah in the Gold Coast. It is true that he is in a stronger position, having a national party behind him, but there will never be a national party in Nigeria without a change of heart.

² Visiting Mission Report, T/1042, pages 46 and 60.

COLONIAL OPINION . . .

Restraint in Nigeria

The following extracts are taken from a statement by the Nigerian Union in the United Kingdom to the Governor of Nigeria and the leaders of Nigerian political parties.

The Nigerian Union of Great Britain and Ireland . . . most earnestly and humbly request that the leaders of the Northern People's Congress and the Northern Elements Progressive Union on the one hand, and of the Action Group, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, and the National Independence Party on the other, exert themselves to their utmost in bringing about a *modus vivendi* whereby the very encouraging start made in building Nigerian nationhood may be continued in the interest of a happy and united Nigeria, so dear to the hearts of the ordinary men and women of this great country of ours.

It may be useful to remind ourselves that a situation such as that which now arises in our country is not a peculiar one; every dynamic change in society is more likely at the beginning to evince passionate differences than to elicit a vague sense of unanimity. Recriminations never lead to a satisfactory solution of these difficulties. That is why the Nigeria Union feel themselves in duty bound to appeal for an approach to understanding between the North and the South. The issues that face our country to-day are grave enough to deserve sober reflection rather than inflammatory language—so that we cannot over-emphasise that such speeches should be studiously avoided. We also strongly urge our leaders, both in the North and in the South, not to be so taken up by considerations of fear of other parts of the country that they must insist on, or submit to a demand for, secession. A partition of the country can bring no gain whatsoever, but rather ultimate ruin. There can, we hope, be no doubt, therefore, that the test of leadership at this critical moment is restraint, mutual confidence, and goodwill.

. . . The Nigerian Union now earnestly appeal to our leaders to reject the invitation made to them to come to London. . . The invitation seems to be silent on the question of self-government. We believe that the best way of revising the Constitution is by consultations within Nigeria and among Nigerians.

We are inclined to lean on the belief that His Excellency the Governor was aware of the significance of a united Nigeria when he expressed himself, in a recent broadcast to the nation at the early stages of the crisis, in appealing tones in the interest of our country's unity. His sincerity of purpose we have no cause to doubt. We, therefore, suggest that the Governor should use his influence to bring Nigerian leaders together, since it is indisputably a part of his responsibility to bring together the various parts of governmental machinery. We, therefore, humbly suggest to His Excellency that it is his duty to see that the unity of our country is preserved at all cost.

This crisis is a challenge to the efforts of those who have laboured in the past and are labouring to build a united Nigeria. Our hope, therefore, is that the crisis should not be so difficult to handle as to make their labours to have been in vain.

Government in Kenya

The following reply to criticism in the Kenya Legislative Council was made by Mr. E. A. Vasey, Member for Finance and Development, on May 15th.

Criticism of policy is one of the main purposes and functions of parliamentary institution, and through the cut and thrust of debate, through the interchange of opinion, there emerges a better shape of policy, and as far as possible agreed grounds. But, Sir, a continuous niggling and carping, denigration of Government, though it may mean a lot of applause from one's immediate hearers and some of one's own community, does little good to anyone in this country, and at the present time can do a great deal of harm to all.

. . . the hon. Member for Aberdares said, 'I have no confidence in the Government'. . . Members on this side of the Council regret that. They regret that he has no confidence in our capacity to carry forward the work that we are doing. However, Sir, I believe that there are quite a number of Europeans in this country who have confidence in the present Government, and I would remind the hon. Member that this Government had not only to have the confidence of the hon. Member for Aberdares, it has to have the confidence of the hon. Member for Rift Valley; it has to have the confidence of the hon. Member for Eastern Area, Mr. Patel; it has to have the confidence of the hon. Member, Dr. Hassan; it has to have the confidence of the hon. Elected Member for Arab Interests; it has to have the confidence of my hon. friend the Member for African Interests, Mr. Mathu; it has to have the confidence of the hon. Members who are sitting on this side of Council as nominated—Mr. Adye, Mr. Cowie, Dr. Karve and Sir Eboe Pirbhai. For any Government in the circumstances of our country must have the confidence, and I repeat, for any Government in the circumstances of our country must have the confidence, not of any one race alone but of all races. (Applause.) It must have the confidence of those people that it is a firm, fair and just Government, acting as an impartial umpire in racial differences, driving, regardless of unpopularity, with one or other section of the community, driving always towards what is good for the country, its people and its economy; for without that confidence no Government can stand in this country for any length of time, whoever its members may be. (Hear, hear.)

—Legislative Council Debates, 15.5.53.

INFORMING U.N.O.

THE Atlantic Charter of 1941 expressed an international concern for 'all the men of all the lands,' and in the Charter of the United Nations which followed, certain provisions were made, which, it was hoped, would improve the lot of mankind. In the colonial sphere, Chapter XI dealt with the future of non-self-governing territories. According to Article 73, certain colonial Powers stated that they would 'transmit regularly to the Secretary-General, for information purposes (subject to such limitation as security and constitutional consideration may require), statistical and other information of a technical nature, relating to economic, social and educational conditions,' in those areas under their control. Some 74 territories were listed by these Powers, for the time being. Changes have already occurred: Indonesia and Panama have both claimed independence. Argentine has brought up certain claims against British dependencies.

Although the Colonial Powers have complied unflinchingly with their undertakings according to Article 73, the General Assembly has never shown itself content with this. Already in 1947 it urged an extension of the information supplied to cover all economic conditions, standards of life, and participation of indigenous inhabitants in local government, and raised the point that these could not be fully understood without information concerning political conditions. It suggested (Res. 144, 11) that the voluntary transmission of such information would be 'entirely in conformity with the spirit of Article 73.' In 1949, the Assembly went a little further in 'hoping' that all members would include such information, and in 1952 went so far (A/2309) as to 'recommend' that Administering Members supply information about the 'exercise of the right to self-determination.' Besides this, the Assembly had already suggested that members should supply information on the geography, history, population, and human rights of their non-self-governing areas, and in 1949, recommended that information on these subjects should no longer be classed as optional (Res. 327, IV). In 1950 Administering Members were asked to report on the implementation of the Declaration of Human Rights in their areas (although this Declaration was not intended to be limited to non-self-governing territories), and in 1951 the Assembly decided that only information concerning the actual government of non-self-governing territories should now be considered as optional. Information concerning the participation of indigenous populations and racial discrimination was particularly requested.

To deal with information submitted under Article 73, the General Assembly set up a special committee which, encouraged by Assembly resolutions, has increased its functions to a degree which has caused widespread alarm. Originally set up to examine the

information sent in to the Secretary-General, by 1948 it was already submitting reports and making recommendations to the Assembly. The Committee, originally set up on a temporary basis, was in 1949 established for a three-year period. Its terms of reference were again widened. Now, it was not only to examine the functional and technical fields of economic, social and educational life, but was to consider when an area may be said to have become self-governing. It was also to examine papers submitted by the specialised agencies and information on measures taken to implement Assembly resolutions in the territories.

In 1952, this Committee, which is composed of the eight Administering Powers and eight elected members, was given a further three years' lease of life. But it should be noted in passing that some delegates pressed for the Committee to be made permanent, for so long as any non-self-governing territories exist, and only the consideration that the whole Charter is due for revision at the end of three years, in 1955, appeared to prevent them from pressing this point.

On the other hand, the Administering Powers argued that the results of the Committee's deliberations in social, economic and educational fields were not such as to justify its continuance at all. Its reports can only be general and are not permitted to draw comparisons with independent countries. As it admitted (A/22, 17) the 'total resources for technical assistance at the disposal of international institutions are meagre' compared with the technical and financial assistance given by metropolitan powers. Nor is the Committee in any way expert. The suggestion that it should be converted into a body of experts was in fact fiercely contested by Czecho-Slovakia, whose delegate said that the Committee would then become 'the instrument of the Administering Powers and their so-called experts. The United Nations must show it is resolved to use all means in its power to achieve the objects of the Charter; the Administering Powers show no desire to implement the Charter and are determined to continue policies contrary to the Charter.'

This is of course the crux of the matter: not the welfare of the non-self-governing territories, but who shall have political control over them. The Committee has been encouraged by the Assembly in a deliberate extension of its functions to include political control on the lines of the Trusteeship Council. In 1950 two officials of the Secretariat visited Greenland at the invitation of Denmark, whereupon the Assembly expressed the hope that Visiting Missions would be invited to other areas. The attempt to examine race relations, and in particular the attempt to obtain direct participation of colonial peoples in the work of the Committee, is not only political in intention, but practically an infringement of

sovereignty. The discussion on what constitutes self-government falls into a different category, since a self-governing power may apply for admission to the United Nations, and must therefore be in a position to take responsibility for its actions. But the discussions on this subject (admittedly a difficult one¹) have aroused criticism amongst the delegates of some of the metropolitan powers. The Netherlands delegate observed that the one objective appeared to be to condemn any form of self-government which was not complete independence or a transference of powers to a non-Administering Power, such as the Soviet Union, whose own non-self-governing territories were never under discussion.

The attitude of the United Kingdom, which is the most nearly concerned, has been steadily against any encroachment by the Special Committee, for which there is no legal provision in the Charter. It has not accepted the doctrine of international accountability for non-self-governing territories on the grounds that it has no basis in the Charter, which deliberately did not create any organ of supervision. It is held that the United Nations Organisation as such takes no responsibility for the administration of non-self-governing territories, nor is it competent to do so, and that its discussions on many occasions come close

to an attempt to wield power without corresponding responsibility. The United Kingdom is willing to supply the information it has undertaken to provide, but the obligation to supply it was unilateral, and that information was meant for information purposes only and was not subject to any kind of resolution or recommendation by the General Assembly.

It is these two contrasting views which are likely to make Chapter XI of the Charter such explosive material when the 1955 revisions begin. For there is every indication that the Assembly will demand the right to see that it obtains, if it has not now, some right of supervision over colonial areas, and every indication that Administering Powers will refuse. This refusal will not be from intransigence, but from weariness. Professor Macmillan has observed that just as colonial legislatures are assuming greater powers the United Nations have chosen this time to make Africa the plaything of talk without responsibility. A host of critics, who have little knowledge, intrude idealogy and theory into the details of local administration to the distraction of all good government. This does nothing to advance self-government. Many share this view, but are aware that it is one that finds less and less acceptance at the United Nations.

¹ See *Venture*, January, 1953, page 8.

Molly Mortimer

Activities of the Bureau

Coronation Visitors

The Bureau was pleased to welcome members and friends from the Colonies who came as representatives to the Coronation, and is most grateful to the Chairman, Lord Faringdon, who entertained colonial guests and members of the Advisory Committee on June 4 at 28, Brompton Square. The following attended:—

H.H. the Kabaka of Buganda, Prince George of Buganda, Mr. A. Creech Jones, Mr. James Griffiths, M.P., the Earl of Listowel, Mr. and Mrs. Grantley Adams (Barbados), Mr. and Mrs. G. Ampofo (Gold Coast), Mr. Owen Barton, Mr. Frank Beswick, M.P., Mr. and Mrs. Vincent Bird (Antigua), Mr. R. Bradshaw (St. Kitts), Sir Selwyn Selwyn-Clarke, Mrs. Margaret Cole, Mr. F. Dalley, Mr. John Dugdale, M.P. and Mrs. Dugdale, Mr. C. W. W. Greenidge, Mr. Hochoy (Trinidad), Mr. Walter Hood, Mr. and Mrs. H. Jaffer (Uganda), Mr. James Johnson, M.P., El Miralai Abdalla Bey Khalil (Sudan), Mr. Philip Lampert, Dr. and Mrs. Kenneth Little, Mr. T. Marryshow (Grenada), Mr. John Moffat (Northern Rhodesia), Dr. and Mrs. J. A. Nicholson (British Guiana), Professor Margaret Read, Mr. J. S. Seay, Dr. and Mrs. J. B. Singh (British Guiana), Mr. F. Skinnard, Mr. R. Sorensen, M.P. and Mrs. Sorensen, Mr. E. A. Vasey (Kenya), Mrs. Eirene White, M.P., Mr. Ian Winterbottom, M.P. and Mrs. Winterbottom, Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, M.P. and Mrs. Wyatt; the Secretary

of the Fabian International Bureau, and the Secretary and Assistant-Secretary of the Fabian Colonial Bureau.

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Central Africa

On June 8, *The Times* published a letter from the Bureau urging acceptance of some of the Labour amendments to the Enabling Bill now under discussion in the House of Commons. The Secretary of State has agreed to receive a deputation from the Bureau at the end of July to discuss the constitution of Northern Rhodesia.

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"Venture"

Readers are reminded that there is no issue of *Venture* in August. The next issue will appear on September 1.

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Conference on the Commonwealth

The Assistant Secretary of the Society is organising a Conference on the Commonwealth at Beatrice Webb House, Dorking, on October 23-25. The Conference will be directed by Mrs. Eirene White, M.P., and speakers will include James Griffiths, M.P., and Lord Listowel. Full details will appear in *Fabian News*.

CORRESPONDENCE

Malayan Perspective

Sir,—I have read Mr. Derrick Sington's pamphlet *Malayan Perspective* published by the Fabian Colonial Bureau with very considerable interest indeed, but I feel I would like to correct one of the early comments in his argument so that readers are not misled.

Mr. Sington says: 'It is not hard to point to the lack of local people of integrity and courage prepared to take over the government of Malaya for the simple reason that a large number of such people—Malays and Indians as well as Chinese—are behind barbed wire in the detention camps as political suspects. . .'

And what is this 'large number'? Mr. Sington does not say. His pamphlet gives the estimated population of Malaya as 5,609,205 at the end of 1952. On April 24 this year (according to an answer given by the Acting Secretary for Defence, Mr. A. H. P. Humphrey, in the Federal Legislative Council on May 6) the number of persons held in detention camps totalled 2,771, of whom 1,973 were Chinese.

Surely Mr. Sington is not seriously suggesting that there are so few people of integrity and courage in Malaya that they are only among these 2,771. I doubt very much whether Mr. Sington could name more than half-a-dozen persons now in detention camps who could be considered as political leaders of any calibre whatever.

Meanwhile, outside the detention camps the Trade Unions go on developing, the political parties are active, and all have one thing in common—a desire for self-government and independence. Is Mr. Sington suggesting that these persons lack integrity and courage? Or does one have to look at the world through barbed-wire before one can be considered morally right?

The Fabian Colonial Bureau appears to differ from Mr. Sington. In the introduction to the pamphlet, the Bureau comments that political action 'has been initiated by the Pan-Malayan Labour Party, which, despite its youth, sent delegates to the recent Asian Socialist Conference at Rangoon. Here is the most genuine interracial movement in Malaya, the carrier of national as well as of social democratic ideas in an unfavourable climate. If it succeeds in maintaining itself against—it must be admitted—very serious odds, Malaya stands a chance of becoming a democratic, self-governing nation.'

The present political importance of this party is a matter of opinion, but even differences of opinion would not obliterate the fact that the members of the Labour Party have not found it necessary to live up to their principles by being forced behind barbed-wire. And that plain fact of political life in Malaya applies equally to the Trade Unions and to the other political parties. When self-government is achieved, it will not be due to the very few in detention camps but to the integrity and courage of the overwhelming majority who carried on in the heat and burden of the day outside.

Yours faithfully,

F. J. Sullivan

(Information Officer, Malaya House).

57, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.2.

(Editor's Note.—In regard to the first sentence of the sixth paragraph, we do not think that the existence of a political party necessarily invalidates Mr. Sington's view. Mr. Sington writes:—

I do not think that my point is affected by Mr. Sullivan's statement that the number of persons held in detention camps is now no more than 2,271 and that he 'doubts very much whether I could name more than half-a-dozen persons in the camps who could be considered as political leaders of any calibre whatsoever.' Probably about 'half-a-dozen' outstanding personalities—Soekarno, Hatta and Sjahrir among them—brought Indonesia through to nationhood. But, apart from that, probably neither Mr. Sullivan nor I nor even the Malayan Police authorities who have such wide powers to secure the detention of people without trial know just how much disinterested political enthusiasm and ability, and embryonic leadership, are swept in behind the barbed wire. Powers of detention on political grounds have been a lamentable necessity during the Communist insurrection. But I feel convinced, as a result of much that I saw and heard in Malaya that they have serious consequences for political leadership and development. I do not feel as happy as Mr. Sullivan seems to be about the 'active political parties' of Malaya. There seems still to be a lack in their ranks of people with the belief and courage which cause men to make real sacrifices for their political ideas—the mark of leadership—and too many who treat political life as primarily an avenue to honours or position.

PEOPLE'S EDUCATION IN THE GOLD COAST

The Report on last year's work of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies in the University College of the Gold Coast has been received, and repays study. This Department is in charge of an energetic ex-tutor who previously worked in Berkshire, and who has been able to gather round him an excellent band of English and African tutors, the former including Mr. J. I. Roper, who is Senior Tutor in Trade Union Studies. The scope and intensity of the work in the Gold Coast is astounding. Nobody of importance, it appears, can set foot in the Gold Coast without being roped in by the Department for a single lecture, a one-day school or a full-length conference. Such visitors in 1952 included Sir Richard Acland, Mr. Dudley Seers, Mr. R. K. Gardiner and Mr. Asa Briggs. Less spectacular work is continued by the resident and part-time tutors, who are steadily building up the intensive tutorial work which the Department knows to be 'the most rewarding form of adult study.' They get an enthusiastic response, the most outstanding being that of 'the indefatigable student who comes 60 miles to Kete Krachi when his work allows.'

The Report reveals that students are beginning to learn the necessities of education—regular, punctual and sustained attendance, written work, and serious reading. They are also realising that it imposes a further obligation. Many have assisted in mass literacy work, and one tutor proudly reports that 'class members have been energetic in explaining the new local government proposals to the public, and several are standing for election to the new local councils,' in addition to 'many unobtrusive acts of public service performed by extra-mural class members' throughout her region.

Parliament

Fish Marketing Organisation in Hong Kong. In reply to Mr. Beswick, Mr. Hopkinson said that the Organisation was administered by the Registrar of Co-operatives, who was also Director of Marketing, assisted by co-operative and marketing department staff. Among the fishermen progress in co-operation had been slow, owing partly to their own resistance to new ideas, and partly to the effect on the fishing community of the unsettled conditions obtaining in neighbouring territory. One credit society had been registered, and its progress was expected to be closely watched by other groups of fishermen. In its present form the Fish Marketing Organisation continued to benefit producers in many ways and was fully self-supporting. It was so planned that eventually it could be taken over by the fishermen and run as a fully co-operative organisation. (May 20.)

Arrest of Trade Union Officials in Kenya. Mr. Brockway asked on what grounds Mr. Mwicigi, President of the Federation of Registered Trade Unions, Mr. Nyamu Marah, General Secretary Transport and Allied Workers Union, Mr. James Wainina, Treasurer of the Transport and Allied Workers Union, and Mr. Rupert Kinuthia, General Secretary of the Domestic and Hotel Workers Union, had been arrested in Kenya. Mr. Hopkinson replied that Mr. Marah had been detained as one of the chief members of the K.K.W. or 'Council of Freedom,' the central organisation for the direction of Mau Mau. The others had been arrested as members of the K.K.W. Sub-Committee, which had been responsible for the penetration of workers' organisations by the movement. (May 20.)

Land Occupancy in Kenya. Mrs. White asked what views had been expressed by African District Councils on the proposal of the African Affairs Committee in Kenya to establish rights of occupancy in land in African areas; and what action had been taken by the Government of Kenya. Mr. Lyttelton replied that African District Councils had received this proposal with caution; some had rejected it out of hand, others were prepared to give it a trial. The Kenya Government intended to start pilot schemes in selected areas within the framework of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance, while trying to make the idea familiar by constant explanation. The problem was being examined by the Royal Commission. (June 9.)

Suppression of Public Meetings in Kenya. In reply to Mr. Hale, Mr. Lyttelton said that no applications to hold public meetings had been refused since October 1, 1952. (June 9.)

Franchise in Kuala Lumpur, Malaya. In reply to Mr. Awbery, Mr. Lyttelton said that the number of properties which had been assessed for rates in Kuala Lumpur was 10,264 and the number of people on the electoral roll 13,503. The present population was estimated at about 250,000. (June 9.)

All-China Peoples Congress Election. Mr. Winterbottom asked whether the Secretary of State was aware that according to the new electoral law of China the overseas Chinese had been given the right to elect 30 members of the All-China Peoples Congress; and whether colonial governments would make it clear to Chinese residents that participation in these elections would automatically disqualify them for all citizenship rights in British territories. Mr. Lyttelton replied that the new electoral law of China provided for the holding of separate elections by the overseas Chinese for the All-China Peoples Congress. The regulations governing these elections were to be enacted separately, and he was not aware that they had yet been promulgated. The holding of Chinese elections outside China was not a new idea. The Chinese Nationalist Government had proposed in 1947 to hold such elections in British territories, but the proposal appeared to have been dropped. Participation in the election under the Chinese electoral law would not, under the British Nationality Act, 1948, which was in operation in the Colonies, automatically disqualify Chinese residents for citizenship in the United Kingdom and Colonies. In a supplementary question, Mr. Silverman asked whether the Secretary of State was referring to a subsequent application to be a British subject, or whether he meant that it was possible for a man to be a British subject and still take part in the political election of a foreign government. Mr. Lyttelton added that he was giving advice on what he believed to be the legal position, which was that participation in the elections would not disqualify a Chinese resident from citizenship. (June 10.)

Kano Disturbances, Nigeria. In reply to Mr. Sorensen, Mr. Lyttelton denied statements that special leave had been granted to native administration staff on the day of the riots and that fighting had been welcomed and, indeed, instigated by British officials in collaboration with certain Northern Nigerians. There had been no attacks on Action Group leaders and no evidence had been forthcoming from any source that any such organised attacks had been planned. The Lieutenant-Governor had been aware of the tension caused by the visit of the Action Group leaders, and on Friday, May 15, all police in Kano had been put on to the alert. Further special police precautions, involving the posting of an additional 260 men, had been taken on May 16, when the native authority had withdrawn all permits issued for political meetings. As the first acts of hooliganism had taken place over a wide area the existing police strength had been insufficient to restore order, and further reinforcements had been brought into Kano. According to the latest reports casualties totalled 46 killed and 205 had been treated or admitted to hospital. A rigorous administrative enquiry was already in progress, and in the light of its outcome the Nigerian Government would consider whether a formal enquiry should be instigated. (June 10.)

Guide to Books

Ten Thousand Men of Africa

By Major R. A. R. Bent. (H.M.S.O., 8s. 6d.)

This war history of the Bechuanaland Pioneers and Gunners is notable, apart from its intrinsic merits, for lifting the curtain of wartime secrecy on a minor revolution in the employment of colonial troops. Not so long ago it was unthinkable that Africans from south of the Zambesi should be armed and trained for a combatant rôle in a war between White nations, but in 1943 the acute manpower shortage overcame long-standing fears and prejudices and led to the dilution of British anti-aircraft units by Bangwato, Bakwena and men of many other tribes of the protectorate.

In the Italian campaign Bechuana-manned batteries not only beat off raids by the Luftwaffe but frequently engaged ground targets, drawing upon themselves inevitable retaliation. Warm compliments were paid by the commanders under whom they served—not only to the Gunners but also to the men manning the Smoke Companies (another dilution), and above all to the great bulk still serving in the Pioneer Companies. Eighty per cent. of the Bechuana had served in the Rand mines, and in the labour of building defence works, roads and bridges, and man-handling heavy loads at ports and airfields and over beaches they showed their pre-eminence over all other troops. This was the kind of work they understood, and in which they took a professional pride.

The general reader, however, will be more interested in those chapters where the author, with the candour and sympathy of an intimate friend of the Bechuana people, describes their reactions to war service in a foreign land. Four years' absence from home, suffering the hardships and dangers and temptations of campaigning in Europe and the Levant, was a test of physique, character and discipline such as few Africans had ever undergone. Yet sickness rates remained low (tuberculosis and venereal disease accounting for the bulk of the cases); indiscipline, even under the bitter disappointment of delayed repatriation, never reached dangerous proportions; drunkenness never became a serious problem, and among the Bangwato at least a third of the men held strictly to their tribal rule of teetotalism.

That the Bechuana came through the test better than any other African troops can be put down partly to good administration, with ample food and clothing, special leave camps, news-letters in Sechuana, and finally, in 1944, a month's home leave for four per cent. of the men at a time. Another factor was the organisation that ensured Sechuana-speaking officers to advise the Pioneer Corps company officers and the higher command on the handling of the men and units, and to listen to complaints from the men. Yet another was the exemplary loyalty and fine example of the Bechuana N.C.Os. and warrant officers—especially the five R.S.Ms. Of these the most not-

able was Rasebolai Kgamane, who has recently been appointed as Native Authority in the Bangwato reserve. His war record, which was outstanding, is several times referred to by the author, who is now a District Commissioner in the Protectorate. The success of the force was due most of all to the national characteristics of the Bechuana people. Their patience, cheerfulness and 'controlled tribal pride and internal discipline' bore them triumphantly through all their ordeals.

Lucan.

The Colonial Police

By Sir Charles Jeffries. (Max Parrish, 18s. 6d.)

Those who know the other works of the Deputy Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies will at once appreciate that Sir Charles Jeffries has written a book primarily intended for those considering the colonial police service as a career. The strength, and the limitations, of his approach are clearly seen in this typical passage:—

'The service is one which offers the best type of Briton an opportunity not only of a career but of an adventure; not only of following but of enriching and passing on a fine tradition; not only of maintaining the Queen's peace in distant outposts but of helping the Colonial people to establish for themselves the rule of law which is the condition of their future prosperity.'

The Colonial Police have not been modelled on the British pattern, where the organisation of the force, its discipline and its attitude to the public, is largely based on public consent. The Royal Irish Constabulary, with its experience of maintaining order among a turbulent and generally hostile population, was early seen to provide a more appropriate model. This was not immediately realised, however, and Sergeant Colepeper, of the London Metropolitan Police, was appointed in 1844 to make recommendations for the organisation of the police force in Ceylon. Hardly had he got the Cingalese formed up and dressed in the full uniform of the Metropolitan Police when an inspector from Ireland was appointed over his head.

At the Conference in 1951 of the Commissioners of Police for the Colonies all were agreed as to the desirability of the colonial police being recognised as a civilian force. Sir Charles lists, however, an imposing array of reasons why the conference decided this was not possible in many territories: the absence of military forces, the large areas to be controlled and the nature of the population and the importance of drill and ceremonial for purposes of morale. His survey of the police forces in the various colonial territories is well documented up to 1950. The raising of local forces and the development of the British idea of the policeman as the citizen's friend has gone furthest in the Gold Coast, where the force has been divided into two parts, the escort police and the

general police which is unarmed and concerned only with civil duties. There is an illuminating account of the difficulties of the force in Kenya, where in 1927 the Kenya police were withdrawn from the native reserves, although by 1950 they were moving back again.

The first Inspector-General of the police force in Jamaica appealed in 1834 against a resolution of the Jamaica Assembly that he was unfit to hold office because he had refused to carry out the instructions of a magistrate to break up by force what appears from the evidence 'to have been a perfectly friendly meeting.' The fundamental problem about the use of the police in a colonial territory was raised as soon as that. In a chapter describing recent riots and disturbances the findings of the various official reports are conveniently summarised. The conclusion is drawn that the application of a very little amount of force will prevent a riotous situation getting out of hand if the force is 'applied at the right moment, with the right degree of strength and under strict disciplinary control.' Although this may leave some problems unresolved, it puts the use of force into a reasonable perspective.

The proportion of locally appointed to British officers is in the ratio of one to ten, and there was no appreciable change between 1948 and 1951. An appendix gives the number of officers, inspectors and other ranks in each of the 43 forces, but, oddly enough, does not give totals or list separately locally appointed and British appointed inspectors.

The book is packed with fascinating detail. How many know, for example, that the police force in Mauritius run a subscription library, that there have been women police in Kenya for nine years, or that the green and gold uniforms in the Gold Coast were designed by the actress wife of a former Governor?

F. H. C.

Return to Goli

By Peter Abrahams. (Faber and Faber Ltd., 12s. 6d.)

In South Africa 'all roads lead to Goli' (Johannes-

burg), says Mr. Abrahams. As a Coloured South African returning to his native land after living in a more tolerant country for fourteen years he is well qualified to review the situation there. As the central theme he describes the four racial groups and their problems. The chapters on three of these—the Coloureds, the Indians and the Blacks—serve to emphasise the artificiality of the race problem compared with the 'unspeakable' economic plight of the vast mass of the population. In the fourth he deals with the Whites. His understanding of the attitude of the Afrikaners has been mentioned elsewhere: far more vital and comprehensive is his description of the conditions of the Non-Europeans. It is these conditions, not merely the Apartheid policy itself, which are creating the bitterness and potential active resistance which the author found on his visits round the country. However, the author's suggestion that the United Nations should occupy South Africa is surely impracticable, and even if such a course were possible it would not solve the problem of establishing equal rights for all the inhabitants in this plural society.

Mr. Abrahams describes the cattle-like treatment of the Blacks arriving for the first time in Goli, but he has not tried to estimate the eventual effect of this large-scale partial urbanisation on the political balance of the country. He finds that many of the Coloureds and Indians consider themselves superior to the Blacks, but the policy of the Whites over the past few years is forcing them to make common cause. The danger is that the Communists will take charge of this cause for their own ends. However, the increasing number of highly educated non-Europeans will at least avert the Kenya situation described by the author where Kenyatta became sour and embittered because he had nobody of his calibre with whom to act.

There are some delightful sketches of some of the author's African friends, and in his concluding chapter, on Kenya, a shrewder one of Jomo Kenyatta. Mr. Abrahams' style, intensely personal, is also refreshingly straightforward, and while he has written a 'travel' book, he has made some important political comments.

Alan Blyth.

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